

The Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy
Yale University

Studies in Grand Strategy
Spring 2016

- Instructors:** Elizabeth Bradley, David Brooks, John Gaddis, Bryan Garsten, Charles Hill, Paul Kennedy, Chris Miller
- Guest instructors:** Scott Boorman, Beverly Gage
- Workshop leads:** David Berg, John Negroponte, Paul Solman
- Administrator:** Kathleen Galo kathleen.galo@yale.edu
- Course numbers:** HIST 985 01: ID # 21097
PLSC 321
MGT 984 01: ID # 20253 (this section only for SOM-MBA students)
- Meeting time/place:** Mondays TBD

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The **objectives** of the two-semester course are to have students:

1. **Appreciate the design, implementation, and consequences of grand strategy**, across a diverse range of human endeavors over time and geographies; examine how the tradition of “grand strategy” has emerged and shifted over time and in different environments with attention to fundamental concepts related to means and ends, agency and adaptation, sovereignty and independence, information and learning, leadership and mobilization.
2. Develop the capacity to **design and present effective grand strategy** to address pressing global problems and achieve meaningful objectives in ways that reflect an understanding of fundamental concepts in grand strategy.
3. **Experience personal and collective growth and development** for working with diverse groups to achieve a common objective.

COURSE STRUCTURE and REQUIREMENTS

The course consists of a two-semester interdisciplinary seminar and an individual summer project. The first semester examines key moments in history that illustrate how individuals and groups can accomplish large ends with limited means. The second semester focuses on contemporary challenges such as peace and security, economic

stability and progress, climate change, global health, and human rights and political accountability. This second semester includes team strategy briefs, as well as a crisis simulation.

Students must take both semesters of the seminar, which does involve several evening meetings for required workshops and speaker events. They must also conduct a summer research project or internship focusing on some aspect of strategy, whether of a historical or a contemporary character. They are also expected to attend separately scheduled faculty workshops and lectures by distinguished guests.

REQUIRED WORKSHOPS

Leadership development workshops (3 Monday evenings in spring semester)

Students will participate in 3 experiential learning workshops to develop greater capacity to work effectively in groups. Topics may include hierarchy and authority, relations between the parts and the whole, artifacts and culture in groups, and leadership as a relational concept. These workshops will help students prepare for the fall semester's group projects and various leadership roles. **The primary instructors for these will be David Berg and Elizabeth Bradley.**

Financial communications workshops (3 Monday evenings in spring semester)

Students will participate in 3 workshops on how to communicate to the public about complex and controversial topics related to finance and monetary policy. Student will study how a selected issue was covered in the popular press and develop greater expertise in framing complex issues for lay audiences. **The primary instructor for these will be Paul Solman.**

Diplomacy workshops (3 Sunday evenings in either spring or fall semesters)

Students will participate in 3 workshops (students will select to do these in the spring or the fall semesters to understand: 1) negotiations and lessons learned from direct personal experience with Vietnam, NAFTA, Environmental and UN negotiations; 2) intelligence, including lessons from having daily contact with the President; and 3) China, based on experiences of a career in Hong Kong, traveling with Kissinger on one of his trips to Beijing in 1972 and having assisted in the leadership of the US-China Strategic Political Dialogue. **The primary instructor for these will be Ambassador John Negroponte.**

Communications workshop (once over the two semesters)

Each student will be required to have one session during the two-semester of grand strategy in which they are taped giving a brief talk with critique and practice with peers and Paul Solman to enhance the effectiveness of public communications. These will be arranged at the students' and instructors' convenience. **The primary instructor for these will be Paul Solman.**

SUMMER RESEARCH PROJECTS

During the spring semester, each student will consult with the GS faculty on a summer project. Projects will research a question of grand strategy in a global context, in preparation for a paper on the topic to be written in the fall semester. Students may spend part or all of their summer on their research project. Before conducting the project, students will be required to review existing literature to attain a focused research question and work with faculty to devise a research methodology—whether based on archives, interviews, or other data collection—and a research plan and schedule. Students requiring funds for travel or expenses can apply for Grand Strategy research funding, which will average \$2,500 – \$3,000 per student. Students are highly encouraged to seek out supplementary research funds.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

REQUIRED READING OVER WINTER BREAK

1. Isaiah Berlin, “The Hedgehog and the Fox,” in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997): 436-98.
2. John Lewis Gaddis, “Crossing the Hellespont,” Ms, December 9, 2014.
3. Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy*, Cornell University Press, 2013
4. Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy*, Oxford University Press, 2013.
5. Winston Churchill, *Painting as a Pastime* (New York: Cornerstone Library Publications, 1950, orig. pub. 1932 in Churchill, *Amid These Storms*).

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

Assignments include two short papers (5-7 pages) and one longer paper (12-15 pages). The two shorter papers are with 25% each; the longer paper is worth 40%, and class participation is worth 10%.

The **first paper** (5-7 pages) will ask students to put themselves in one of the many critical decision points we have studied in class through Week 6 (Clausewitz) and analyze the context, the decisions made, and the impact of these decisions within the larger context. What went right and why? What went wrong and why? If you could consult to the system at that point in time, what advice might you give the key players?

The **second paper** (5-7 pages) will ask students to select a moment in time from the second half of the class and analyze the grand strategy (or lack thereof) at work. Briefly describe the landscape, the primary objective, the strategy or strategies undertaken and the implementation tactic used. Did it work? Explain your answer and propose a set of reasons for the outcome you deem as a success, a failure, or both.

The **final paper** (12-15 pages) will be a proposal for the summer project. The paper should accomplish three main tasks. First, it should set up a clear question pertinent to grand strategy in a global context that the research intends to answer. Second, the paper should analyze existing research on the question, stating why previous approaches have been insufficient, identifying the gap that persists, and how your work will fill that gap. Third, the paper should outline what methods the student will undertake on the summer project, explaining why this is the best approach. Papers can, but need not, include work that forms the basis of a senior essay. You may also propose another topic to the instructors.

**Studies in Grand Strategy
Spring Syllabus 2016**

Week 1 (January 22 and January 25)

Grand Strategy and Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* (Bradley, Boorman)

This class provides context and framing that will be revisited throughout the semester and year in the seminar. We will examine Sun Tzu (~544-496 BC), the earliest of the texts we will read, which tackles critical problems of how to conduct war, the major pastime of his era in China. We will consider Sun Tzu in the context of the time of the writing, discuss the goals, strategies, and relationships that underpin the writing, and consider the degree to which Sun Tzu represents grand strategic thinking.

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, translated by Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963). Full text.

Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin, 2011). Ch. 1: "The Singularity of China," pp. 5-32, esp. "Chinese *Realpolitik* and Sun Tzu's *Art of War*," pp. 22-32.

Mark Edward Lewis, "Warring States Political History," *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, eds. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 587-650.

Isaiah Berlin, "The Hedgehog and the Fox," in *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), pp. 436-98.

Week 2 (January 25 and January 22)

Thucydides on Democracy and Empire (Garsten, Hill)

Ancient Athens was a democracy and an empire. This class will delve into the links and tensions between democracy and empire as they emerged during the long war between Athens and its rival, Sparta. How did naval power help make democracy possible, and how did naval expansion bring democracy into crisis? How did democratic decision-making strengthen Athens, and how did it contribute to the disastrous Athenian invasion of Sicily and consequent defeat? What motivations fueled Athenian leaders, according to Thucydides: self-interest, self-defense, principle, ambition? What kinds of narratives did Thucydides, the historian, tell, and what sort did he leave out? Why is Thucydides known as the father of realism?

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (c.400 B.C.), trans. Rex Warner, ed. M.I. Finley (Baltimore: Penguin Classics, 1954), pp. 72-87, 132-164, 212-223, 236-245, 265-290, 400-429, 437-442, 447-454, 496-516, 525-537, with particular focus on Pericles Funeral Oration, the Melian Dialogue, and the Sicilian Expedition.
Gaddis, John "Long Walls," Manuscript, December 8, 2014.

Week 3 (February 1 and February 8)
Augustus and the Roman Empire (Gaddis, Bradley)

In this session we will consider the Roman Empire as a unipolar world, a power configuration not to be seen again until the United States emerged as the world's only super-power after the Cold War ended. We will explore the question of whether Roman hegemony reflected the existence of what we would now consider to be a grand strategy and if so what it was. Emphasis will be placed on the reasons the empire rose and fell, and why it lasted as long as it did. We will also consider what if anything the United States, in its own 'unipolar moment', might learn from the Roman precedent.

Anthony Everitt, *Augustus: The Life of Rome's First Emperor* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2007). Full text.

Week 4 (February 8 and February 1)
Machiavelli on Crafting a Modern Republic (Garsten, Brooks)

In ordinary language, Machiavelli's name stands for a ruthless, opportunistic approach to politics. For many scholars, Machiavelli is associated with the republicanism of Italian city-states during the Renaissance. This class will explore the relation between ruthless realism and republicanism in Machiavelli's thought. We will focus on his understanding of the strategic challenge that the emergence of large, powerful and unified states in France and Spain posed to the independent Italian cities, on his view of the role that Christianity played in politics, on his argument for the benefits of partisan conflict, and on his account of political agency and virtue.

Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1513-1514), trans. Harvey C. Mansfield, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

Niccolo Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, pp. [tba]

Isaiah Berlin "The Originality of Machiavelli," in his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997): 269-325.

John Gaddis, "Souls and States," Manuscript, 2015, chapter 4.

Week 5 (February 15 and February 22)
Kant, Constitutionalism, and the Federalist Papers (Garsten and Hill)

Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" (1795), in Hans Reiss, ed., *Kant: Political Writings*, translated by H.B. Nisbet, 2nd ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 93-130 (full text).

Federalist #1-13, 23-25, 28, 30-31, 37, 49-51.

Week 6 (February 22 and February 15)
Clausewitz and *On War* (Gaddis, Bradley)

Europe began the 19th century with a devastating war, as the aftershocks of the French Revolution reverberated across Europe and as Napoleon's armies sought to redraw the map by force. Weeks 6 and 7 examine attempts to make sense of this surge of violence and to prevent its reoccurrence. Week 6 takes up the great military theorist Clausewitz, who fought in the Napoleonic Wars and who analyzed the relationship between war and politics. Week 7 turns to Europe's attempt to rebuild stability, examining systems based on values, commerce, and a balance of power.

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (New York: Knopf, 1993). Introductory essays by Paret, 'The Genesis of *On War*', pp. 3-28; Howard, 'The Influence of Clausewitz', pp. 29-49; and Bernard Brodie, 'The Continuing Relevance of *On War*', pp. 50-65.
'On the Nature of War', book I, chapters 1-8
'On the Theory of War', book II, chapters 1-6
'On Strategy in General: Strategy', book III, chapter 1
'The Attack: The Culminating Point of Victory', book VII, chapter 22
'War Plans: Introduction; Absolute War and Real War; War Is an Instrument of Policy', book VIII, chapters 1, 2, 6B

John Lewis Gaddis, "War, Peace, and Everything: Reflections on Tolstoy," unpublished article.

Week 7 (March 7 and March 28)
European Order (Kennedy, Miller)

This week examines three distinct grand strategies employed in the mid-19th century to provide order in Europe from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1818 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. These strategies involved: values, military power, and economic globalization. The strategy of Metternich (1773-1856) was to bind together the continents' elites, convincing them that war was not in their interests. The strategy of Bismarck (1815-1898)'s strategy was to demonstrate a balance of (military) power. The British Empire strategy created a global system based less on force – although force was used – and more on trade, migration, and finance.

Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored* (New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1964).
'Introduction', 'The Continental Statesman', 'The Insular Statesman' and
'Metternich and the Definition of Political Equilibrium', chapters 1-4, pp. 1-61.

Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics*, "Preface," p. viii-xiv and "An appraisal," p. 575-582.

Henry Kissinger, 'The White Revolutionary: Reflections on Bismarck', *Daedalus* 97, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 888-924.

John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-144.

Week 8 (March 28 and March 7)
Lincoln and the Union (Brooks, Gaddis)

Weeks 8 and 9 examine strategies to deal with a fundamental tension between sovereignty and unity. We examine critical moments in the United States and Central Europe, as countries struggled to provide a stable institutional structure for democratic politics.

Richard J. Cawardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (New York: Vintage, 2007).

Week 9 (April 4 all together)
Nationalism and Polish Question (Snyder)

Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 1-105, 207-294.

Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2015), chapter 2-5.

Week 10 (April 11 and April 18)
Forging Peace: The End of World Wars (Miller, Gaddis)

This week examines two attempts to make peace. The First World War ended with only a temporary truce, while the second was followed by European Unification, the Marshall Plan, and a stable balance of power. What accounts for the difference? The class will also examine the experience of attempting creation and governance of international institutions to sustain peace and negotiate changing circumstances.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), ch. 9-12, pp. 218-288.

Charles Maier, "The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy After World War II," in Maier, ed. *In Search of Stability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 121-153.

John Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), "Spheres of Influences," p. 48-71 and "The Long Peace," p. 215-45.

John Ikenberry: *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 117-215.

Week 11 (April 11 and April 18)
Social Movements: U.S. Civil Rights (Gage)

This class will examine the use of grand strategy in making social change with application to strategies used by Martin Luther King and others in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement (1954-1968).

Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, "The Purpose," "Of Means and Ends," "In the Beginning," "Tactics," (New York: Vintage/Random, 1971).

Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

"Freedom Riders," documentary film, directed by Stanley Nelson (2010), available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/freedomriders/watch>.

Week 12 (April 25)
War on Poverty: U.S. Health and Health Care (Bradley)

This class will discuss the efforts by President Johnson to create national momentum to eradicate poverty in the US, with a focus on its influence on health and health care, leading up to present day tensions in the health care system. The grand strategy took poverty and ill health as the enemy: did it work? This session can bring us back to the beginning of how a society deals with what is individual and what is collective good.

President Johnson's State of the Union address, 1964.

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbj1964stateoftheunion.htm>

Alice Sardell, *The US Experiment in Social Medicine*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988), ch. 4, pp. 77-107.

Elizabeth Bradley and Lauren Taylor, *The American Health Care Paradox: Why Spending More is Getting Us Less*, (New York: Public Affairs Press, 2013), ch. 1-3, pp. 1-81.

Sholom Glouberman, et al., "A Framework for Improving Health in Cities,"
Journal of Urban Health 83:2 (2006): 325-338.

Week 13 (May 2, Reading Period) Wrap up